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SICILIAN CONNEXIONS OF SOME MEDIEVAL MALTESE SURNAMES

The sheer geographical proximity of Malta to Sicily, a mere sixty miles to the nearest land, must be of the utmost relevance for several phenomena common to the two countries. Yet, the stretch of water, however narrow, remains a divide between the two islands and must similarly account for several of the differences. The topic under review is no exception; it manifests much common ground but also various differences. The object of this paper is to highlight the connexions.

In Sicily no clear demarcation line can be defined between when surnames were not in use and when they came into use. It was towards the beginning of the present millennium, coinciding with the period of reconquest and rechristianization in the wake of a protracted Moslem occupation, that the official appellatives of name and surname increasingly edged out and superceded the more informal existing naming system of Ism, Nisbah, Kunya and Laqab. The Europeanization of Sicily, and with it the change in the name-giving patterns, was achieved with a quickening tempo (MS 18–19). In Malta, this process of Europeanization and re-christianization was less marked (L/App. 30–40). In fact, certain crucial aspects simply never made the transition; to mention but one, the language remains to this day essentially semitic. The dearth of documentation for Malta prior to the 14th century is particularly unfortunate in this regard insofar as the process of surname development is here practically completely obscured. The earliest, in any sense complete catalogue of local surnames, going no further back than the first decades of the 15th century, is embodied in the Militia Rolls (W/ML) and Militia Roster (W/MR) published by Wettinger; similar later lists await publication. By this time, the process of establishment of surnames had become practically completely finalized.

In view of these inherent shortcomings, the Sicilian analogue assumes renewed validity. For us, the Sicilian model is not just another backdrop against which an interpretation of our nomenclature can be attempted. The very same Arabs that invaded and occupied Sicily in the 9th century also invaded and occupied Malta in a.d. 870 (W/Arabs), so that after not many decades the two communities achieved a high degree of homogeneity. Furthermore, inspite of the paucity of information, the poor documentation cannot obscure a whole skein of comings and goings between the two island communities, both during the Arab domination and much more so later. The relevance of this intermingling of people to the name-giving and name-acquisition process cannot be over-emphasized. In a patriarchal society, the males who travel and settle away from their homelands necessarily carry with them the names they inherited, which they in turn pass on to their progeny for generations.

1 Semitic Surnames

The names immediately spring to mind of the Maltese 11th century artisan who, according to Amari (Am/Epigrafi 35) constructed a mechanical clock for Roger I at Palermo, and of the Maltese Arab poets Abu al-Qasim ibn Ramadan al-Maliti and Utman ibn Abd-ar-Rahman, called ibn as-Susi who also emigrated to Palermo. The former pleaded, apparently in vain, with Count Roger to authorize his re-patriation in Malta; the latter adopted Palermo as his second homeland and “found peace there” (W/Arabs 29,30).

Evidence of this migration is by no means restricted to a cultured elite minority. Among the names of serfs listed in the voluminous “platee” published by Cusa (C) one encounters a significant number whose nisbah part of their name is al-Maliti or al-Għawdisi. Among these one finds:

زوجة مفرج الملاطي: نعمة الغودسي (1145): (C 276), at Catania (1145): على الملاطي (C 581), among the serfs of the Church of Cefalù (1145): (C 475), (؟) at Catania (1145): مرزوق الملاطي (C 583), at Qabianah (1178): (C 164), at Ġatinaħ (1183): عمر بن الملاطي (C 251), at Minżil Abd-ar-rahman and Qumajt (1183): اولاد الملاطي (C 253), and at Raqlah (1183): عيسى الملاطي (C 260).

Most of these have already been noted by Wettinger (W/Arch). Al-Għawdisi > Gaudisi (ML 5 *et passim*) > Gaudixi¹ > Gauci² survives to this day as a prolific surname in Malta. As to Al-Maliti, one later comes across its latinized form, both on Malta itself (1299):

“Nobilis vir dominus Guillelmus de Malta, eger corpore in castro Gaudisii”³

as well as in Sicily at Agrigento (1252): “†Ego Nicolaus de Malta me subscripsi” (Cl. 152). In its Sicilian form Maltisi, for example “Patris D. Francisci Maltisi” (Corleone 351) at Corleone (1649), and later Maltese, the surname can be found even now (DF 197). The surname Maltisi in Malta survived well into the 15th century (W/Dist). As toponyms in Malta, tal-Għawdexi and tal-Malti(ja) can still be found to-day.⁴

It is not very surprising, therefore, that several of our medieval semitic surnames can similarly be found, in some form or other, in Sicily among the ample documentation there. Several of the following occurrences have likewise been indicated by Wettinger (W/Arch).

1.1 Personal Names

Some of our surnames were simply personal names (Ism). Of these one finds:⁵
ABDILLA

عبد الله بن ابي عبد الله (C 175).
In Sicily at Calatastrasi (1178):
In Malta at Casali Percopu (1419): Bernardu Habdille
(ML 23 *et passim*).

It is later found as personal name in translation: In 1244 “†Ego ServusDei Panormitanus Canonicus subscripsi” (Cl. 130) and in 1270: “Ego ServusDeus de Iacobo . . . iudex Agrigenti me subscripsi et sigillavi” (Cl. 219).

		It survives also as surname to the present day at Palermo in the rather cryptic form Badalà and Vadalà, as shown by Pellegrini (P/Nomi 413). In this form, of course, it has been re-imported into Malta at a much later date.
CATTUT		In Sicily at Iaci (1095): احمد بن قطاط (C 545).
		In Gozo and not in Malta (1543): “Federicu Cattut gozitano patrono del bergantino . . . nominato Santo Martino” ⁶
		In Gozo (1603): Santoro Cattut (APCG LB I 5). As a place-name in Gozo one still finds Ghajn Qatet at Rabat; also <i>vide</i> Bir Qatet and Bjar Qatetu (W/PN).
DEBBUS		In Sicily at Corleone and Calatastrasi (1178): ابن دبوس (C 141).
		In Malta in 1496: “Guillelmus Debus” (Not.G. Zabbara R494/1 (1.x.1496) (25 ^v (Pt.IV)).
		In Gozo in 1456: “Testamentum Francisci Debbus” (AAF Registrum Fundationum Beneficiorum Insulae Gaudisij (19.vi.1456) (copy of 1545) f.43 ^v). As toponym it survived at least till 1601: “Terreno positio in contrata il ginē nuncupato ta debbus” (MCM PD 91).
FITENI		In Sicily at Ġatina (1183): فيان بن بركة (C 249).
GALEA		In Malta at Casali Axac (1419): Julianu Fitien (ML 19)
		In Sicily at Corleone and Calatastrasi (1178): / ابن عالية: “ἐπιν γάλιε [sic]” (C 142).
HELLUL		In Malta at Casali Lamanni et Burdi (1419): “Angelu Galie” (ML 8 ^v <i>et passim</i>)
		In Sicily at Calatastrasi (1178): علون بن باديس (C 174).
		In Malta at Casali Dragu Gazara et Maritatu (1419): Luca Hellul (ML 31); at Casali Chircop (1601): Benedicto Hellun (MCM PD 98).
(DE)LIA		As place-name: Casali gallun (ML 21); (1436): “Unu casalj dishabitatu chamatu Ragal allun”. ⁷
MUHUMUD		In Sicily at Corleone (1178): میمون ابن لیة (C 142).
		In Malta (1360): “Paulinus De Lia habitator Melite”. ⁸
		In Sicily at Catania (1145): محمد بن المعلم (C 568 <i>et passim</i>).
		In Malta at Casali Axac (1419): “Cataldu Muhumud” (ML 19) and at Casali Sigeui: “Julianu Muhumudi” (ML 28).
MULA		At Casali Temim Assant (1425): Antonj Muhumud. ⁹
		At Birgu (1445): “Franciscu Muhamet” (MCM ACM Misc. 32/A Vol. 2 (<i>olim</i> Vol. 18 f. 57) (20.v.1445) 31).
		In Sicily at Nicotera (1145): μοῦλε ὁ βρούπτολος (C 27);
		At Palermo (1260): “Iohannes de Mule” (Cl. 170).

SAJD	In Malta at Casali Curmi (1419): Pinu Mule (ML 14). In Sicily at Corleone (1178): بعيش بن سعيد (C 138)
SAMMUT	In Malta at Casali Johanni et Buzubudi (1419): Andrea Said (ML 18). In Sicily among the serfs of the Church of Cefalù (1145) صسود بن الموند (C 475 <i>et passim</i>)
SURIJA	In Malta et Casali Bise et Dimag (1419): Antoni Samud (ML 4) and at Casali Samudi itself (1419): Burdinu Samud (ML 5). In Sicily at Calatatrasi (1178): اولاد صورية (C 168).
ZAMMIT	In Gozo in 1533: "Nobilis Joannes Suria" (CL 17). In Sicily at Batallaru (1183): ميمون بن زميطة (C 263). Pellegrini's preference (P/Nomi 417) to derive the common Palermitan surname Zammito/Zambito from the name Sammut (with different root) seems unwarranted.
ZUMAGH	In Malta at Cappella Sancta Dominica Tartarni et Dinkili (1419): Jakubinu Zamit (ML 1 <i>et passim</i>). One should compare the Jewish female name in Malta (1487): "Zambita filia quondam Pinhas (Mehyr), Judea". ¹⁰ The hyper-correction -mb- in this personal name form can also be found in the contemporary surname form (1536): "Johanni Zambict de villa zorric" (Not. N. De Agatiis R202/1 (2.vi.1536) 40 (Pt. I)). The form Zammita is also preserved, quite late, as a toponym (1648): "Terreno appellato ta Zammita in contrata Sancti Andree" (MCM PD 450). In Sicily at Corleone and Calatatrasi (1178): عبد الله راجل زماعة (C 139).
BRINCAT	In Malta at Casali Lamanni et Burdi (1419): Arrigu Zumahac (ML 8 ^v). The evolution: Zumaghaq > Zumagh > Zimegh and final coalescence with Dimegh, originally (in 1419) a distinct surname, is treated elsewhere (F).

Each of these surnames is still current in Malta except for Muhumud which vanished mysteriously towards the middle of the 15th century.

Of particular interest are the Arabicized Christian names of this period that gave rise to surnames. These may have been survivors from Byzantine times or newly imported North European names which succumbed to Semitic inflexions. Of these one finds:

BRINCAT	In Sicily, a Christian serf of Corleone (1178): πρανκατηος / برقات (C 146); Also, in a bilingual document (S 68–71): "Tancredi Regis Mandatum (1192): . . . Prancat venerabilis abbas Sancti Philippi de Valle Demeni. . . .
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παγκράτιος ὁ ἐνβαλῆς καθηγούμενος τοῦ ἀγίου φιλίππου τῆς βαθείας δεμέννων”

At Caltavulturo (1396): “Brancatus de Trubatu . . . testor” (MF Doc VIII 120). As surname at Corleone (1649): “Sebastiani Brancata” (Corleone 351).

In Malta at Rabat (1419): Cola Brancat (ML 36). The use of Brancat as personal name in Malta took long to die out; in 1648 it was still in use. Thus, at Casal Tarxien: “Paulo Vella figlio di Brincato” (MCM PD 272).

GALTIR

In Sicily (1180): الارشفسك القديس غالتيير : (C 39); (1172): ἀγιώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον πόλεως πανόρμου κύριν γαλτέριον (C 80); (1190): ἀρχιεπισκόπου πόλεως πανόρμου κυρίου γαλτερίου (C 48).

In fact, reference is here being made to the Englishman Walter Offamilio¹¹ who usurped the Archbishopric of Palermo in 1168 (MS 39–41).

In Malta at Casali Lia (1419): Franciscu Galter . . . Luca Galter (ML 9); in 1496: “Nicolaus Galtir testis”.¹² Thereafter it seems to have become established as a nickname invariably accompanying the surname Agius, as for instance: At Casali Zebug (1522): “Jacobus Haius Galtir” (MCM PD 107); At Casali Lia (1575): “Antonio Haius Galtir de Casali Lie” (AACM LBI (1.v.1757) 670); Again at Casal Lia (1648): “Bendo Haius alias Galtir de Casal Lie” (MCM PD 251). This nickname then became corrupted into Haltir/Haltin/Haltino.¹³

Other Arabicized Christian names that became surnames are encountered later.

1.2 Kunyah Names

A number of Maltese surnames arose out of the Arabic Kunyah nominative, a term of association, usually in a metonymic sense introduced by Abu-. Some of these surnames eventually dropped the Abu-prefix; others retained it. Of the Maltese surnames one can list the following:

EGHBEJJER

In Sicily among the serfs donated to the Bishop of Cefalù (1145): على بوالبابير : (C 477).

In Malta at Casali Naxaru (1419): Niculozu Habejr (ML 6 *et passim*).

BUĞIBBA

In Sicily at Suq al-Mar'ah (1178): ابو جبة : (C 153).

In Malta at Casali Luca et Farrug (1419): Nuzu Buiubbe (ML 22); in (1536): “Matrimonium Petruçij Bugibbe”;¹⁴ As place-name¹⁵ Buġibba is still going strong to-day.

	جِنْجَةٌ	is the Egyptian version of جِنْجَةٌ, a caftan-like vestment (D/Vet. 107–117).
BUHAĞAR		In Sicily among the serfs given to the Bishop of Cefalù (1145): بُحْرَجْ بَلْلَ (C 474 <i>et passim</i>).
BUSALIB/SALIBA		In Malta at Casali Axac (1419): Antoni Buhaiar (ML 19 <i>et passim</i>). In Sicily at Qabianah (1178): ابو الصليب (C 163). In Malta at Casali Leu et Carendi (1419): Nuzu Busalib (ML 26); At Rabat (1419): Pascualinu Saliba (ML 34 ^v); At Sigeui (1480s): Marcu Busalibe Salibe (SIC) (AL 5).
FARRUĞA		In Sicily at Calatastrasi (1178): عمر بو فروج (C 170). In Malta at Casali Safi (1419): Laurenczu Faruge (ML 23 ^v <i>et passim</i>); فُرْج = coq (D). In Sicily at Catania (1145): عَمَّحْ بْنُ أَبْو شَيْبَةَ (C 571).
XEJBA		In Malta at Rabat (1538): “Dianora Xeybe habitatrix Rabbati”; ¹⁶ In Gozo (1609): Martino Xeybe (APCG LD I (23.xi.1609)). Dozy interprets شَيْبَةَ as “barbe grise”.
XWIEREB		In Sicily at Kariani (1183): عَيَادْ بْنُ السَّوَارِبْ (C 280); and among the serfs given to the Bishop of Cefalù (1145): عَيَادْ بْنُ بَشَارَبْ (C 475). In Malta at Casali Dragu Gazara et Maritatu (1419): Czullu Xuerib (ML 3 <i>et passim</i>). For Dozy, شَوَارِبْ is “non seulement moustache, mais aussi lèvre (supérieure), les deux lèvres”.

Although BUSITTIN (the Medieval form of Busuttil (ML 7,7^v, 18^v, 24)) has not been encountered in Sicilian documents, cognate forms like BUTLETIN, as in: حَسْنُ بْنُ ثَلَاثَيْنِ (among the serfs of Cefalù (7.i.1145) (C 477)) are not unknown. Likewise for BUTTIGIEĞ, as in: Lenczu Butigegi (at Casali Xiloc (1419) (ML 28 *et passim*)) no direct Sicilian reference can be given, but it is readily admitted that this form is not out of place among: Bufarrug, Buleghbeijer, Buhanzir, Bulangas, Burummien, Buful and Bużejtun (C 170, 477, 566, 249, 571, 547 and 545 respectively). The nickname of 1178: ” على الدجاج ” (C 160) should also be noted.

1.3 Nisbah Names

In these last cases, the person is metonymically referred to by the plant or animal with which he is associated in trade, work or whatever. However, these names can also be interpreted as Nisbah occupational appellatives. The Nisbah part of an Arabic name is a qualifying term relating to geographical origin, to occupation, to sectarian affiliation and the like.¹⁷

1.3.1. Occupational Names

CALAFATO In Sicily at Qabianah (1178): يوسف القفاط (C 161); at

	Catania (1145): على القنطاطي (C 569); and in 1243: σίγνον χειρός ἀναστάσιου καλαφάτου (C 96).
CAMILLERI	In Malta at Casali Cuderi (1419): Manfre Calafat (ML 30 <i>et passim</i>). Although the ultimate etymological derivation is not quite certain (Cr/Arabismi 149), the meaning is pretty well established to be a ship-caulker (Maltese <i>qalfat</i>).
CARUANA	In Sicily (1213): يانى الكنيلارى (C 648). In Malta at Casali Safi (1419): Dimitriu Camilleri (ML 23 ^v <i>et passim</i>). The meaning is interpreted by Wettinger (W/Non-Arabo-Berber 201) as camel-driver. Compare Camelarius = Qui camelorum curam gerit (DC). Encountered in Sicily at Galisa/Raia (1178) as personal name: حسن بن قروان (C 148) can probably be interpreted as “caravan man” (P/Arabismi 131).
CASSAR	In Malta at Casali Sifilani et Gallun (1419): Santoru Caruana (ML 21 <i>et passim</i>). حسين بن بنت ابى الكصار (C 145): Although found at Catania (1145) (C 575), the consonantal root: ك ص ر seems to be unkown in Arabic and suggests misinterpretation; the occurrence: يجتمع بوادى القصار (C 205) translated in this bilingual document as “jungitur cum flumine fullonis” (C 181) gives a more natural explanation with the meaning of “cloth fuller”.
HAKEM	In Malta at Casali Axac (1419): Masi Cassar (ML 19 <i>et passim</i>). In Sicily at Iaci (1095): محمد بن مبارك أبا الحاكم (C 541). In Malta at Casali Milleri (1419): Vincenti Hakim (ML 25 ^v); In 1525: Manfredo Hakim. ¹⁸ Dozy gives the meaning as “l’officier chargé de surveiller l’administration judiciaire”; in Malta the word came to mean the “Capitano della verga” or the president of the Università.
MILLAHI	In Sicily at Corleone (1178): زوجة الملاح (C 140) and at Catania (1145): على بن الملاح (C 571). In Malta at Casali Lia (1419): Palmeri Millahi (ML 9 <i>et passim</i>); at Gozo (1606): Stefano e Gioannella Mellechi (APCG LB I (17.i.1606) 32); at Mosta (1634) Marianus Mellechi (AP Mosta LM I (19.viii.1634) 29) who was from Gozo, and in 1656 at Rabat, Gozo: “Gio.Paolo Mellehi” (AP San Ġorġ, LM I (16.vii.1656)). Dozy, quoting Pedro de Alcala (1505), gives “salinero que haze sal”.

ŻABBAR

In Sicily in the “Rollo di Monreale” (1182): (C 226).

In Malta at Casali Zabar itself (1419): Jufrè Zabar (ML 16) and at Rabat (1559): “Magister Orlandus Zabar . . . faber lignarius”.¹⁹

Pedro de Alcala gives “podador de viñas” (D), a vine-pruner, as in Maltese.

1.3.2. Names of Geographical Origin

Among surnames deriving from place of origin, besides Maltisi and Gaudixi already discussed, one finds:

BERBERI

In Sicily at Corleone (1178): يعيش ابن البربرى (C 136) and at Iaci (1095): يلا بن البربرى (C 545).

In Malta (1372): “Pecia terrae . . . in contrata dicta Petra Longa prope terras Kelli Barbarie” (B/Frederick 197).

In 1417: “Ximeon Berberi” (MR 9^v) among the Maltese Jewish community which was exiled for good in 1492 (W/Jews). As toponym, it survived well into the 17th century; thus Abela (A 88) in 1647 records “Vyed el Berberi” near Mrieħel.

BORG

In Sicily at Suq al-Mar'ah (1178): ابرهيم البرجى (C 153) and at Corleone and Calatatrasī: ὁ βουρτζις (C 137). The name is interpreted by Caracausi (Cr/Arabismi 134) to mean “nativo di Burgio”.

In Malta at Casali Atardu (1419): “Ramundu Burgi” (ML 9^v). Wettinger (W/Non-Arabo-Berber 213) prefers the derivation from the personal name Burgio occurring in Sicily in 1270, from which the surname at Corleone (1438): “auctoritate. . . Johannis Burgii. . .” (Corleone 202) is probably derived. However, for Malta, an early rendering²⁰ of the surname as “il burg” lends more weight to the locational rather than personal derivation.

GHARBI

” ميمون العربي ”: ”ابن عثمان العربي ” (C 257) and at Calatatrasī (1178): ”ابن عثمان العربي ” (C 171).

In Malta at Casali Johanni et Buzubudi (1419): “Luca Harabi” (ML 18^v); at Casali Zebug (1480s): “Petru Harabi” (AL 18^v) and at Casali Attardo (1559): “Georgio Arabi”. It has also been used as a nickname as in: “Lenzu yl fitaiar alias yl garabi” (MCM PD 70) at Casali Micabiba (1522). As toponym, “tal-gharbi” still survives to-day at Haż-Żebbuġ (SS 500/708).

The following two surnames probably also indicate geographical origin:

QORMI

In Sicily at Iaci (1095): ” عبد الرحمن بن القرمي ” (C 546).

In Malta at Casali Curmi (1419): “Gullielmu Curmi”

	(ML 14 ^v <i>et passim</i>). A possible interpretation is “native of Crimea” (Ar. قم).
SGHENDO	In Sicily at Corleone and Calatrasi (1178): “ξέβούβκερ ἔπιν ἐλζγούνδι / ابو بكر بن الرغندى ” (C 140). In Malta at Casali Zebug (1480s): “Joanni Zighendo” (AL 13). A possible meaning is “native of Zakynthos (Zante)”. However, Idrisi (1150 ca.) calls this island: ”جاجنت“ (Idrisi ٦٠). Pellegrini (P/Geogr. 167) refrains from interpreting the toponym “lacum zagandi”, dismissing it as of non-arabic origin. Elsewhere (P/ Nomi 420) he tentatively suggests the epithet to be a corruption of “giocondo”.
	One can include here surnames which, though not clear derivations of nisbah names of geographical origin, appear to relate to place-names in Sicily. Among these one can mention:
BIGENI	In Sicily, in the “Rollo di Monreale” (1182): “Divisa Bicheni/ ” حد رحل بجايني (C 192/226) and in 1211: “Casale quod dicitur Bigene” (H-B I.1 p.172). In Malta at Casali Curmi (1419): “Bertinu Bigeni” (ML 14). The present day toponym Biċċieni seems to be related to this surname; in 1687 it is called “Bigieni” (AAF LSA IIa N.55).
CUTAJAR	In Sicily, in the “Rollo di Monreale” (1182): “Casale quod dicitur cuttaie/ ” رحل قطية (C 184/210); “ad septentrionalem partem cuttie/ ” من جهة قطية (C 189/219). Interpreted by Caracausi (Cr/Arabismi 157) and by Pellegrini (P/Arabismi 322) as diminutive of قطاط it occurs in identical form in the earliest documents of Malta. Thus, at Rabat (1419): Nuzu Cutaje and Antoni Gutaye (ML 38,37 ^v) and at Casali Zebugi (1419): Paulu Gutaja (ML 32 ^v). The final -r in the present-day form of the surname is a corruption that does not antedate the 17th century and begins to appear only in documents from Valletta and the Three Cities.
1.3.3. Sectarian Affiliation	
CAGEGE	In Sicily at Qabianah (1178): حجاج (C 164) and still to be found there to-day (DF 318). In Malta (1372/3): Guillelmus Cagegi (B/Secrezia 130); at Notabile (1561) Vincenzo Cagege (MCM ACM Misc.441 118). A حجاج is one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca (حج) several times.
MRABAT	In Sicily at Catania (1145): عمر المرابط (C 565); in 1286: “Ego Iohannes de morabito testor” (LM 318). In Malta at Casali Sigeui (1522) Nardo Balczan Mirabat

	(MCM PD 90,91,95 ^v); in 1536: “Terreno in contrata Sancti Simonis quod fuit Mirabat” (<i>ibid.</i> (1536) 62). In Senglea (1687): Speranza Mirabito (AAF LSA IIa N49 59) whence the present-day form of the surname Mirabitur; Caracausi (Cr/Arabismi 297) gives the meaning as one who abstains from drink out of religious conviction and relates it to the present-day Sicilian surname Morabito.
GRIXTI	حد منزل كرشتي (1182): منزل كريست (C 223) and in 1183: منزل كريست (C 255) is interpreted by Amari (AD/Index 41) as “the village of the Christian”. In Malta at Casali Calleya et Musta (1419): Michele Gristi (ML 8). This surname is invariably written Gristi until quite recently, which is worth noting in comparison with the Greek rendering μίνζηλ κιρίστων (Greek lacking Š).

1.4 *Laqab Surnames*

Other surnames are obvious derivations of the *laqab* (or nickname) element of the Arabic personal nomenclature. These terms are often demeaning in a humourous way. In many cases reference is made to physical defects, possession of the particular feature being often introduced by ئ. A typical Maltese surname of this kind is Buras/Burasi as for instance, at Casali Calleya et Musta (1419): Nardu Burasi (ML 7^v) and at Casal Musta (1522): Andria Buras (MCM PD 37). Although not found *qua tale* in Medieval Sicily, several terms of similar designation are known. To mention a few: Buħalqejn, Bunuffati, Burigel, Buriglejn, Busieq, Busnien, Busuf, and Bużaqq (C 573, 170, 149, 173, 544, 279, 177 and 153 respectively). To this day, this construction is still very much productive as a Maltese nickname form. Thus, Giuseppe Debono *ta' bituila* at Hal Kirkop, Carmelo Borg *ta' bukighu* at Siġġiewi, Ġamri Micallef *bukrajk* at Għarb, Giuseppe Cutajar *ta' buzehaun* at Mellieħa and several other similarly enigmatic nicknames; more significantly one finds also Paolo Vella *ta' bużaqq* at Rabat (Malta) and Ġamri Fenech *ta' burasa* at Żejtun (ER 1939). In a similar vein one finds:

AGIUS	(عمر بن العجوز: (1169) العجوز بدار الخياط (C 38) and at Catania (1145): العجوز بدار الخياط (C 582), meaning “the old man” as in the foregoing, or “the old woman” as in: ή γράια πράτρεα / ” العجوز البياعة / (C 594). In Malta at Casali Lamanni et Burdi (1419): Baldazar Haiuz (ML 8 ^v); at Casal Curmi (1522): Laurenczo Haius (MCM PD 45 ^v); at Senglea (1620): Clementia Agius (AP LD I (30.iii.1620)) and Gerolamo Hagius (<i>ibid.</i> (1.iii.1637)).
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DALAM	In Sicily at Calatatrasi (1178): مقاتل بن النظار (C 173). In Malta at Casali Sancte Catarinae (ca.1460): Paulu Dalam (BV Univ.11 78 ^v). As nickname: at Casale Buzubud (1420s): Paulu Vella dalam (W/Nicknames 41); at Casal Curmi (1687); Francesco Mamo dalam (AAF LSA II N37 f.38). As toponym: “Il ginien ta dalam in contrata S. Georgij de gadir”, ²¹ that is very near Ghar Dalam.
DUBB	Dozy gives “ladron de las rentas publicas” for طَلَمْ. In Sicily among the serfs belonging to the Bishop of Cefalù (1145): عايشة بنت الدب (C 477); at Calatatrasi (1178): عبد السلم الدب (C 168). In Malta at Rabat (1419): Benedittu Dub (ML 34); as nickname (1486): Lemo Tabuni alias Dubu (W/ Nicknames 42). It survived, as a place-name, at least till 1601: “Terreno posito in contrata il hamerj appellato ta dob ta libiar” (MCM PD 55). The meaning is taken as “ours, animal, homme stupide” as in Dozy.
FAR	In Sicily among the serfs of the Church of Santa Maria di Palermo (1095): ابن النار (C 2) and at Corleone and Calatatrasi (1178): نعمه النار (C 137). The meaning “rat noir” (D) being identical with present-day Maltese for <i>far</i> . In Malta at Notabile (1419): Masi Far (ML 38 ^v) and in 1494: “Frater Matheus Far ... conventualis eiusdem conventus (Sancti Augustini Rabati Melite)” (Not. G. Zabbar R 494/1 (II) (4.xii.1494) [79 ^v]). As nickname, one finds at Qormi (1761): “Beatrice Said dicta tal-far” (AP LD A (19.xi.1761)). As toponym, Hal Far is still present (SS 549/639).
FARTAS	In Sicily at Malbit (1182): صدقة الفرطاس (C 279). In Malta at Rabat (1419): Jogaddu Fartasi (ML 35). As nickname it has survived to the present: “Luigi Dalli tal-fartas” at Lija (1939) (ER). The meaning has changed considerably, though, to include now any kind of baldness. Originally it was restricted to loss of hair resulting from a scalp disease; <i>vide</i> Dozy: فَرْطَسٌ = teigneux (un mot Berbère), فَرْتَسَةٌ = teigne – fertsa, Maltese falza (a corruption of fartsa). The association with butterflies is intriguing: a second meaning of teigne is “sort de petit papillon”, whereas in Maltese, “il-falza” is popularly believed to be contracted by touching butterflies.
FELLUS	In Sicily at Raħal Guħar (1132): ὅμουρ ἐλφελλούς (C 514).

	The latin derivation from <i>pullus</i> (chicken) follows Dozy. In Malta (1487): Cataldo Felluse (W/Nicknames 42); At Birgu (1536): “Paulus Fellus Melitensis habitator hujus suburbij”. ²² As nickname one comes across, at Żebbuġ (1633): Blasio figlio di Marino Paci ta' fellusa” (AP LD II (21.ix.1633) 35) and at present, at Xewkija (1939): “Luigi Saliba tal-fliles” (ER).
FELU	In Sicily at Mudiq (1183): ἀβδέλλας φέλου/ (C 276); as toponym (1149) and (1182) (C 29, 216, 222, 227). = Bourrique, âne (D).
MINTUF	In Malta at Bircalcara (1419): Cellu Felu (ML 11) and in 1552: “Clara filia Angeli Felu et quondam Agathae”. ²³ In Sicily at Calatafarsi (1178) (C 169). مُنْتُوف = “celui qui a la coutume d'arracher les poils de sa barbe” (D).
QATTUS	In Gozo but not in Malta (1486): “Bertus Mintuf de Gaudisio” (ANV Not. G. Zabbar R494/1 (I) (1.viii.1486) 30) and in 1533: Muni Muntuf (CL 17 ^v). It has also been used as a nickname as in (1590): “Johannes de Manuela alias mintuf . . . Insulae Sengleae”. ²⁴ The corruption Mintoff is of very recent introduction (Cf. Antonio Mintuf ta' Bronka at Għasri (ER 1939)). In Sicily at Catania (1095): ابرهيم بن القطوس (C 543) and يوسف بن القطوس (C 545).
RQIQ	In Malta at Casali Luca et Farrug (1419): Luppu Cadus (ML 22 <i>et passim</i>); at Birmiftuh (1489): Marcu Catusu (W/Nicknames 45); in 1522: “Tenimentum quod erat Petri Catus (MCM PD 113). As nickname tal-qattus is still common; thus, at Naxxar (1939): Carmelo Frendo tal-qattus (ER). Several place-names can similarly be found to-day (SS 504/668 (Qrendi), 526/728 (Birkirkara), 565/672 (Għaxaq) and significantly 558/671 (Gudja)). قطُّوس = chat (D.) In Sicily at Ĝhar is-Sirifi (1183): سليمان بن الرقيق (C 247). In Gozo (1533): “Ioannes Micheli Rechic” (CL 11 ^v). The surname Subtili at Rabat (1494): “Bastianus Subtili et Becta” (ANV Not. G. Zabbar R494/1 (II) (6,13.iii.1494) 96 ^v , 99 ^v) was probably a Europeanized version of Riqiq (the thin), as can be inferred from the later record: “Petrus Subtili alias Rikic” (ANV Not. T. Gauci R287/13 (15.vii.1586) 167 ^v).

Of these nicknames/surnames, the ones that refer to plants and animals are particularly interesting, being common to various naming systems, and deserve separate treatment. Only those have been listed here that have some claim at becoming surnames at some stage or other. Several others never made it. Other surnames which are clear *laqab* derivations include:

BAQBAQ	In Sicily at Għar Xugħajb (1183): البقاق (C 281). In Malta at Casali Dragu, Gazara et Maritat (1419): Luca Bakibac (ML 3 ^v <i>et passim</i>); at Gozo (1533): Anglu Bacbac (CL 9 <i>et passim</i>). As place-name one encounters: “Ta il bacbac galcula in contrata casalis Dragu” (W/PN); and in 1536: “Terreno ta yl bakibac in contrada gued bufula” (MCM PD 25).
BUNI	In Sicily at Calatatrasi (1178): حاد بن البوئي (C 173); At Raja (1183): عيم البوئي (C 271); At Minżel Żarqun (1183): عثان البوئي (C 259). In Malta at Casali Naxaru (1419): Rugeri Buni (ML 7). The toponym Wied il-Buni is still known to-day at Birżeppuġa, albeit not found in the map. It is described by Abela (A 22) in 1647 as “El cala ta’ Výed il Buni cioè seno della Valle di Buni, nome proprio arabico”; it is already recorded in the 15th century (ANV Not. G. Zabbar R494/1 (II) (13.ii.1494) 92).
CAFOR	In Sicily at Corleone (1178) the Christian serf (C 146). In Malta (1273): “Roberto de Caffuro de Malta”. ²⁵ In the same Angevin documents the surname is given as: “Roberto Cafario . . . Robertum Gayforium” (<i>ibid.</i> 20); In 1372/3: “Gabellotto Frankinus Caffarius”. ²⁶ At Casali Sigeui (1419): Janettu Cafor (ML 27 ^v). In its present-day form the surname is Gafà. ²⁷
GIBASAL	In Sicily at Catania (1095): محمد الجباصل (C 547) ; at Catania (1145): ميمون بن الجباصل (C 576). In Malta at Rabat (1480s): Degu Gibasal (AL 22). As nickname it is found in 1512: “Perino et Antonia Farruge alias gibasal” (W/Nicknames 43). In Sicily at Catania (1095): خفت العاشق (C 548).
GHAXAQ	In Malta in 1372: “Presbitero Bartholomeo de Ashac de Miliveto cappellano regio” (B/Frederick 192). At Casali Axac (1419): Lenzu Axac (ML 19). In Sicily at Catania (1145): اولاد المشطة (C 579). In Malta at Rabat (1687): Gregorio Maxita (AAFLSA II N37 3,4 ^v ,45 ^v) and at Casal Luca (1687): [...] Masta (<i>ibid.</i> N43 f.2 ^v). At Valletta (1805) Ubaldesca Maxta (<i>ibid.</i> XXIVb N14 (Pt IV) [22 ^v]).
MAXTA	

SEMEN	In Sicily at Għar is-Sirifi (1183): بو عبد الله بن السنن (C 247).
TABUNI	In Malta at Casali Zebugi (1419): Bernardu Semen (ML 32 ^v) but not found in later documents. In Sicily at Calatatrasi (1178): ابن الطابونة (C 172); and in 1183: ميمون الطابوني (C 262). Dozy gives طابوني = épithète du pain qu'on cuit dans un طابون (= petit four").
TISS	In Malta at Cappella Sancta Dominica tartarni et dinkili (1419): Nardu Tabuni (ML 1 ^v) and at Casali Tabuni itself (1419): Antoni Tabuni (ML 29 ^v). In Sicily at Corleone and Calatatrasi (1178): التس (C 136).
XERRI	In Malta (1489): Bertu Xebiras Tis (W/Nicknames 46); In 1487: "Georgius Tis" ²⁸ and at Vittoriosa (1539): "Franciscus Tis". ²⁹ The nickname it-Tiss survives till the present, at Rabat (1939): Salvu Sacco it-Tiss (ER). In Sicily at Catania (1095): موسى الشرى (C 544). In Malta at Casali Percopu (1419): Ximuni Xerri (ML 23). Dozy defines شرقي as "querrelleur".

More difficult to place with certainty is the common surname Bonnici whose earliest documented spelling: Bunichi and Bunnichi³⁰ suggests it is an Abu-type name. It is possibly a corruption of Buniġe as in: بوالجيا يتم الوكيل / ο βουννίτης τὸ ὄρφανον τοῦ κουράτορος (C (iv.1183) 267) and ἡ γυνὴ βουννήτης (C (7.i.1145) 477). In later Maltese documents, the form Bonige, although admittedly rare, is not unknown. Thus, one comes across in 1563: "Jacobo Bonige" (MCM ACM Ms.37 (30.ix.1563) 111).

2 Romance Surnames

With the increased tempo of Europeanization of Sicily and, to a less marked degree, of Malta several appellatives of Romance origin began to emerge into the foreground. Three broad categories can be outlined here according to whether the surname originated from a personal name, from a geographical locality or from some other source, as for example, a nickname.

2.1 Personal Names

Several personal names that gave rise to Maltese surnames, in most cases as patronymics, can be shown to have been popular in Sicily in the post-Muslim period. Thus each of the following personal names occurring in Sicily became a surname in Malta: Alamanno, Alaymo, Andrea, Attardo, Azimundo, Barbara, Bartolo, Bastianu, Bernardo, Bonaccursio, Bonfilio, Bordino, Berengario, Brahimi, Calogero, Cosmano, Emmanuel, Federico, Francesco,

Gentile, Grimaldo, Leo, Lorenzo, Lucia, Luna, Marino, Mayo, Meli, Migliorino, Nardu, Nicola, Pagano, Parisio, Peregrino, Pericuni, Perollo, Poncza, Sansone, Santoro, Sarlo, Urso, Vassallo and Vita.

ALAMANNO

In Sicily at Palermo (1260): Alamannus de India (Cl 170) and as patronymic at Palermo (1266): “Ego Bartholomeus de Alamanno interfui” (MF 105). The name is to be interpreted as denoting ethnic origin as in the bilingual document (1242):

مولانا الانبرطور فردریک علی الیابه translated: “... Domini nostri friderici ... romanorum imperatoris” (C604/602).

In Malta (1324): “Rogerius de Alamanno regius publicus notarius insularum Malte et Gaudisij”.³¹

At Casali Lamanni itself (1419): Lenzu Laman (ML 8^v); At Vittoriosa (1571): “Jacoba filia Petri Laman”.³² The toponym Casali Lamanni remains till the present as Hal Mann (SS 494/736).

ALAYMO

In Sicily at Agrigento (1280): “Alaymo de Lentino domini regis consiliario et familiari” (Cl 243).

As surname it is still common there (DF 177).

In Malta (1437): “Notar Corrau de Alaymu” (GG 402) and “Notario Pietro Laymo” (ANV R238a) is active at Mdina between 1519 and 1521.

ATTARDO

In Malta the name first appears as a patronymic in 1299: “Ego Tristanus de Actardo testis sum”.³³ A decade or so later it appears as personal name: “Actardus de Barba miles”³⁴ and a variant of the name in a copy of the same document³⁵ is “Artaldus de Barba” (1316); the same in 1397 is found as Artale as in “Artale d’Alagona”.³⁶ Although Artale for long continued to be used as a personal name, as for example in 1485: “Coram nos Artale de Alagona”,³⁷ and at Gozo in 1533: Artali Lagona (CL 11^v), by the end of the 14th century Actard was well on its way to becoming established as a surname. Thus in 1372: “Pro Francesco Actardi scriptum...” (the genitive case indicating patronymic) and in the same document “Francisco Actardo de Miliveto”.³⁸

In 1419 it is invariably Atardu (Attardu) as in: “Benedittu Atardu (de) Casali Atardu” (ML 9^v). The spelling Tard, both for surname as well as for toponym is not unknown: At Casali Zebug (1536): “Mastru Georgi Tard” (MCM PD 68).

In Sicily, the use as personal name is evidenced by “Actard Barbillat” in 1405³⁹ and the form Artale is even more common; thus “Artal de Luna” in 1403 (Ms 148).

AZIMUNDO	In later centuries the surname Attardo is also encountered, for example the author Giovanni Attardi in the 1770s.
	In Sicily in 1145: † ἀσμόνδος δεχαδάκ κριτὴ μάρτυρ (C 617).
	In Malta in 1283: “Marcus de Asmundo (insulae Malthae)” (Gl.199), in 1324: “†Ego Nicolaus de Hasmundo testor” ⁴⁰ and in 1417: “Cola de Azimundo” (MR 4).
	As personal name (1419): “Azimundino Cafor” (ML 28).
BARTOLO	In Sicily, as personal name (1411) at Randazzo: “Barthulu di Marcu” and “Nobili Bartholo de Iuvenio milite”. ⁴¹ As patronymic in 1396: “†Ego notarius Antonius de Bartolo testor” (MF 119).
	In Malta by 1419 it is very widely diffused and variously spelt: Bartolu (ML 1 ^v), Bartalu (ML 2), in 1522: Barthalo (MCM PD 23 ^v) and in 1541: Bartholj. ⁴²
BONACCURSO	In Sicily in 1191: “ ἐγώ βονακουρς πιονκεφάλδος μάρτυρ” (C 124) and at Palermo in 1281: “Bonaccursus Caldarella” (Cl 249).
	In Malta in 1372: “Maranus de Bonaccruso”. ⁴³
BONANNO	In Sicily at Corleone (1237): “Ego Bonannus de Deustisalvi . . . me subscrispsi” (DSSS II 2 (Corleone) 114) and at Palermo (1282): “†Bonannus Garzetta Iudex Panormi me subscrispsi” (<i>ibid.</i> 132).
	As surname at Patti in 1502: “Gerardus Bonannus” (Patti 368).
	In Malta in 1365: “Cum terris Pini de Bonanno” (L/Benedictines 164) in a deed of 7.v.1365 in the acts of Notary Lanceas Gact; a witness in the same deed is “Presbyter Alafunctus de Bonanno”.
	At Casali Balzan (1419): “Arigu de Bonannu” (ML 10 ^v <i>et passim</i>).
BONELLO	It is not before 1290 that Bonellus appears for what it really is: a personal name: “Bonellus de Iscla et alios quinque homines . . . venientes de partibus Sicilie” (LM 527). Much earlier evidence for it exists as surname: in 1097(?) at Mazara: “Testibus . . . Ioslino Bonello . . .” (Cl 20); in 1136: “ ὁ περιωρισμὸς τοῦ γουλληάλμου βουνέλλου ” (C 116); in 1160: “ . . . filii nostri Matthei Bonelli” (Cl 47); in 1183: “†Ego Bonusvassallus Bonellus testis sum” (C 633); at Patti (1254): “Iohannes Bonellus civis Pactarum . . . testor” and in 1318: “Crescencium Bonellum” (Patti 238, 258).

BONFILIO	In Malta at Casali Johanni et Buzubudi (1419): “Paulu Bonellu” (ML 18').
	In Sicily (1247): “Bonfilius de Grima” (G 55, 61–65) and as patronymic at Patti (1318): “Guillelmo de Bonfigliu” (Patti 258).
	In Malta (1372/3): “Perellus de Bonifilio”, ⁴⁴ at Civitas (1419): “Cola de Bonfiglu” (ML 39).
	As personal name at Luqa (1480s): “Bonfiglu Caruana” (AL 8).
BRINGELI	In Sicily at Catania (1402): “Berengarius de la Pulcella” (Cl 282) and “Bilingerio de Riolis” in (1411) ⁴⁵ and as surname (1411): “Raymundum Berengarij”. ⁴⁶
	In Malta as personal name (1372): “Beringerius Catalanus gabellotto” ⁴⁷ and at Casali Grigori et Samudi (1419): “Bringeli Bakibac” (ML 5).
	As surname it is not encountered before 1533, at Gozo: “Jacobu Blingkeri” (CL 16'), in 1536: “Ambrosius Biringari”, ⁴⁸ and at Rabat, Gozo (1646): “Domenico Bilinger” (AP S. Görög, LM I (8.viii.1646)).
CALOGERO	In Sicily (1143–45): “† πρεσβύτερος καλόγερος” (C 55); at Qabianah (1178): “ χουσεην ἄνθρωπος τοῦ καλογέρου” (C 163); at Palermo (1201): “καλόκερος μάρτυρ” (C 89) and at Agrigento (1429): “Fra Calogero de Rosa” (Cl 283).
	In Malta it is first encountered in the 1480s at Casali Luca: “Giglu Coloyru” (AL 8); also as a nickname (1514): “Johanna mulier uxor quondam Gilii Hellul alias Culayro” (W/Nicknames 41). As surname at Birgu (1538): “Julianus Calogerus habitator hujus suburbij” ⁴⁹ and in 1542 the same person is “Jullianus Calloyero” (docketed Caloyer) for another notary; ⁵⁰ whence the present-day Coleiro. (Prof. Caracausi kindly informed me that the metathesis kalo- > kola- in Greek names with prefix kalo- is often met with in Sicily.)
	Although the name is still very common in Sicily it does not seem to have taken on as a surname there.
GENTILE	In Sicily at Agrigento (1169): “†Gentilis Agrigentinus Episcopus testis” (Cl 49). At Calatabuturi (1284): “conquestus fuit de Gentile habitatore Calatabuturi” (LM 121). As patronymic it appears in 1290: “†Ego Rogerius de Gentili testis sum” (LM 491). It is also a common surname these days at Taranto (DF 111).
	In Malta the earliest spelling of the surname appears in the unusual form Xintil as at Casali Percopu (1419):

“Niculuzu Xintil” (ML 23) and in 1522: “Petri Xintil” (MCM PD 80^v). A relic of this quaint form is still found to-day as in “Xintill Street” at Tarxien. On the other hand, the personal name always appears as Gentil, as for example: at Casali Bise et Dimag (1419): “Gintil Axac” (ML 4). Later forms of the surname are Gentil, as at Gozo (1605): “Pietro et Prudentia Gentil” (APCG LB I (30.xii.1605)).

GRIMALDO/GRIMA As patronymic in Sicily at Catania (1413): “Petru di Grimaldu”.⁵¹

Also Grima, in all probability, a truncated form of Grimaldo as in 1247: “Bonfilius de Grima” (already quoted).

In Malta (1417): “Johanni de Grimaudu” (MR 2), and at Casali Curmí (1419): “Andrea Grima” (ML 15^v *et passim*).

KIRKOP In Sicily at Palermo (1145): ” λέων τοῦ προκόπι ” (C 27).

In Malta: That the surname Kirkop is a corruption of Percop (< Procop(io)) can be seen by considering the earliest spelling of the toponym Casali Percopu (ML 23) which only towards the beginning of the 17th century started to be called Chircop. Whatever doubt there may be about the identity of the surnames, the two localities are certainly one and the same. By 1419, any trace of the personal name Procopio had vanished but two forms of the surname, Percopu and Kercheppu were already existing side by side. Thus, at Casali Percopu itself one finds “Pinu Percopu” and “Guillielmu Kercheppu”. Whether these originated from the same source, Percopu, or from different sources is arguable. By 1687, the state of development as appears from 21 *Status Animarum* documents (F) was as follows: Chircop in 11 documents, Corcop (6), Circop (2), Chirchop (1), Chercop (1) (21 occurrences); Carcep (3), Carceppo (1), Carceppa (1) (5 occurrences). The latter surname/surname-form died out by the 19th century but still survives at Siggiewi both as a toponym (SS 499/686) as well as a nickname.

One should note a parallel development in the place-name “Rahal Pirchipulli”⁵² (1523) and “Rahal Chirchipulli”⁵³ (1539), from Procopoulos. The entry “Alesandro Carchiopullo... habitatori de Lepanto” (BV AOM 429 (17.vii.1561) ccxli) is of interest.

LEO	In Sicily at Palermo (1145): “λέων τοῦ προκόπι” (C 27) and “νικόλαος νίος λέοντος / شهنة بن علّا ” (C 479). Like Brincat and Galtir discussed above, Lew in Malta has been preserved in its Arabic form both in the place-name: “Casali Leu” (to this day Hal Lew) and as personal name, e.g. at Naxxar (1522): “Leu Habeyer” (MCM PD 22). On rare occasions one encounters: “Casali Leonis” (1530). ⁵⁴
LUCIA	The surname occurs in 1487: “Coram . . . et Antonio de Leo testibus”. ⁵⁵
MAYO	In Sicily in 1243: “σίγνον χειρὸς λουκίασ” (C 96). In Malta at Casali Percopu (1419): “Laurenczu de Luchia” (ML 23), at Senglea (1684): “Joseph di Lucia” (AP LSA 40) and down to the present.
MELI	In Sicily at Messina in 1188: “† σίγνον χειρὸς μαῖω ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ” (C 337); At Randazzo (1411): “Martinu di Mayu” (Bianca 60).
PAGANO	In Malta in 1537: “Magister Johannes De Mayo sutor provincie biscaye presens” (Not. N. DeAgatiis R202/2 (8.x.1537) 38 ^v) and in 1540: “Johannes Baptista de Mayo ordinis praedicatorum” (<i>ibid.</i> R202/5 (13.v.1540) 195).
PEREGRINO	In Sicily in 1296: “Meli de Presbitero” (MF 109). As surname, in recent times: “Giovanni Meli, poeta Palermitano (1740–1815)” (Enciclopedia Italiana). In Malta in the 15th century the surname is restricted to the Jewish community; thus, in 1419 (Giudecca): “Jacobi Meli” (ML 41 ^v). It is not before the 17th century that it appears as a Maltese surname, as at Birmiftuh: “Joseph Meli” (AP LB I (16.x.1601)).
	In Sicily (1217): “ γέρων παγάνος τῆς λοῦνας μαρτυρῶ” (C 442).
	At Agrigento (1270): “Paganus de Bruno” (Cl 218) and in 1189: “Ego Johannes de Pagano testis sum” (Cl 87).
	In Malta (1324): “M. . . de Pagano” ⁵⁶ and in 1372: “Guialus de Pagano”. ⁵⁷ At Qormi (1687): Caterinella Pagano” (AAF LSA II N.37 23).
	In Sicily as personal name (1188): “σίγνον χειρὸς πελεγρίνου ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ” (C 337) and at Lentini (1415): “Misseri Peregrinu Tarigu”. ⁵⁸
	As surname at Patti (1277): “. . . in presencia Magistri Landulphi Peregrini de Camporusso” ⁵⁹ and to this day (DF 130).
	In Malta (1361): “Jacobus de Peregrino” ⁶⁰ and at Civitas (1419): “Paulus de Pellegrinu” (ML 39).

PERICUNI	In Sicily at Lentini (1418): “Periconi de Belloch”. ⁶¹ In Malta as personal name at Casali Leu et Carendi (1419): “Pericuni Bugeya” (ML 26) and as surname at Civitas: “Mariu de Pericuni” (ML 38').
PEROLLO	In Sicily at Agrigento (1331): “Perellus de Bonavita notarius” (Cl 274) and in 1396: “Ego Perellus de Matina capitaneus . . . Calatavuturi testor” (MF 119). As patronymic (1142): “†Gibertus de Perollo dominus Galiani . . . concedo et confirmo” (C 306) and at Trapani (1397): “Johanni de Perollo Militi” (Ms 54). In 1150–1168, in the Catalogus Baronum: “Hugo de Berollo” although at Matera (not in Sicily) is relevant. In Malta in 1372: “Notario Petro de Brulli de officio secrecie civitatis Meliveti” (B/Frederick 197). The noble family of Perollo is established for a century in Malta from 1465 to 1560 (<i>Vide Mt passim</i>). That the present-day place-name il-Brolli (SS 569/655) is related to this family appears from the notarial note: “Contrata Sancti Ioannis dellì Perolli” (1541). ⁶²
PONCZU	In Sicily in 1142: τον φοριστερην ποντζον ἀγίου πέτρου (C 526). At Vaccaria (1195): “†Poncius de Salem de Vaccaria interfui” (MF 96).
RECUPERO	In Malta at Casali Balczan (1419): Bertinu de Ponczu (ML 10). In Sicily at Agrigento (1270): “Notarius Rogerius de Ricupero” (Cl 218), as patronymic. As surname, at Catania (18th Century): “Giuseppe Recupero, naturalista (1720–1778)” (Enciclopedia Italiana). In Malta at Gudja (1419): “Pinu Ricupru” (ML 20). As place-name it is still found to-day: “Ta’ Rkuplu” at Pwales (SS 444/780); “Territorium Ricupru in contrata Puales” (Not. G. Zabbarra R494/1 (I) (22.viii.1487)).
SARLU	In Sicily, Sarlu (Sarlone) was the nephew of Count Roger betrayed and killed by the Moselms at Haġar Sarlu (whence the toponym) (AS/Idrisi 56). In the “Catalogus Baronum” one finds Sarolus de Mutula (1150–1168), albeit at Taranto. As patronymic it appears in 1284: “†Ego Facius de Sarlo interfui et testor” (LM 114). In Malta at Civitas (1419): “Cola de Sarlu” (ML 40) and in 1480: “Antonius de Sarlo judex” (BV Univ 11 (11.x.1480) 447/v). The toponym “Gued Sarlu” (MCM PD (1522) 101) is probably represented to-day by Ĝebel Sarnu (SS 463/748) near ta’ Falka. That Sarlu and Sarnu are used interchangeably can be verified

	from the contemporary reference to <i>Judex Antonius</i> as “Egregio Antoni di Sarno” (ANV Not. G. Zabbara R494/1(I) (29.i.1487) 57).
(D')URSU	In Sicily at Palermo (1153): ‘πέτρος νύδος ὄρσου’ (C 33). In Malta at Civitas (1419): “Thumeo de Ursu” (ML 39 ^v) and in 1486: “Catherina mulier uxor magistri Albani di Urso” (ANV Not. G. Zabbara R494/1 (I) (26.v.1486) 27). There does not appear to be any continuity with present-day Urso. As toponym it appears in 1522 as <i>Ginen Dors</i> (MCM PD 94) and till to-day at tal- <i>Għolja</i> (SS 479/670).
VASSALLO	In Sicily at Messina (1182): “†Vassallus de Camulia Messane viceiudex testis sum” (C 333) and in 1186: “Vassallus Gavarretta” (C 672); at Patti (1277): “... in presencia Vassalli de Pulcella” (Patti 251); in 1284: “Item domino Vassallo Accono militi ... Messane” (LM 556,7) and in 1405: “Amats et feels nostres Vassall de Landolyna, Actard Barbilat, ...” (Ms 99). It is very probably a truncated form of Bonovassallo, with the obvious meaning, as in “†Ego Bonusvassallus Bonellus testis sum” (C (x.1183) 633) or: “Ego Bonovassallo Burrellus stratigotus Messane testor” (C (ix.1201) 354). A similar pair of names are Bonaventura (in 1261 at Agrigento: “Bonaventura de Ferrara” (Cl 173)) and Ventura (in 1286: Ventura Merenda (LM 598)). As patronymic at Trapani (1415): “Matteo de Vassallo” (Bianca 249). In Malta in 1419 the surname is widely diffused and invariably spelt Vassald (ML 8 ^v), Vassaldi (ML 9) or Vassaldu (ML 39 ^v), probably a case of hyper-correction. This rendering persisted well into the 16th century, as for instance in 1522: “Giglu Vassald” (MCM PD 64).
AIDONE	In 1496: “Johannes Ayduni”. ⁶³ As nickname of geographical origin it is noted by Wettinger (W/ Nicknames 41) in 1502: “Antonius de Armaninu dictu Dayduni” and “Johanni de Armanino alias Deiduni”. Later one explicitly encounters “Antonio Daiduni de Calaxibetta”. ⁶⁴

2.2 Sicilian place-names

Several Maltese surnames of indubitable Sicilian geographical provenance testify to an intense influx of immigrants from the larger island. Some representative surnames in Malta, which one need hardly point out that they are also to be found as surnames in Sicily, include:

AIDONE

In 1496: “Johannes Ayduni”.⁶³ As nickname of geographical origin it is noted by Wettinger (W/ Nicknames 41) in 1502: “Antonius de Armaninu dictu Dayduni” and “Johanni de Armanino alias Deiduni”. Later one explicitly encounters “Antonio Daiduni de Calaxibetta”.⁶⁴

AUGUSTA	The modern Maltese surname Deidun goes back no further than 1715 when it started as Daidon, soon changing into Deydon (1745) and Daidun (1747); by 1762 it had become Deidun. ⁶⁵
AVOLA	“Aloysio de Augusta” appears in a deed of 7.v.1365 in the acts of Notary Lanceas Gact (L/Benedictines 164). At Civitas (1419): Antoni de Agusta (ML 39) and in 1536: Franciscus de Augusta. ⁶⁶
CALAVÀ	In 1483 Notary Graciano Vassallo drew up the will of Paolo d’Avola; ⁶⁷ In 1517 at Mdina: Iohanna de Avula figlia magistri Geri; ⁶⁸ At Vittoriosa in 1540: “Paulus de Avola melitensis habitator hujus suburbij” ⁶⁹ and at Gozo in 1545: Don Jacobus de Auola. ⁷⁰
CATANIA	In 1421: Federico Calava ⁷¹ and at Civitas in 1536: Ioanni Calavà (MCM PD 8 ^v).
GIRGENTI	In 1419 at Casali Zebugi: Micheli de Catania (ML 32 ^v <i>et passim</i>) and remains widespread till to-day.
LENTINI	At Civitas (1419): Antoni de Girgenti (ML 40).
LICATA	In 1299: “Manu notarij Nicolai de Lentini publici insularum Malte et Gaudisij notarij” (B/Vespri 319, 320).
LIPARI	At Civitas (1419): Frankinu de la Licata (ML 39). Delicata is very common to-day.
MAZZARA	The real origin of Pirotta, in Malta at Naxxar since the 1560s (AP), is betrayed by the reference of 1627: “Giuglio Pirutta o Liparotto di Casal Nasciaro” (Archives Health Department, Floriana, LD Sacrae Infermeriae I (10.ix.1677)).
MESSINA	At Civitas (1419): Franciscu de Mazara (ML 38 ^v) and at Rabat (1567): “Clericus Joannellus de Maczara de Rabbato”. ⁷²
MISTRETTA	In 1432: “... et Bertu di Missina jurati di la dicta chitati (et insula di Malta)” (GG 389).
MOLLICA	At Valletta (1609): Filippo di Messina (AP Portus Salutis LB I (5.x.1609)). This surname still flourishes.

MONDELLO	"Elisabetta Mullica" (AAF LSA IIa N.53 f.23 ^v). At Rabat (1419): Laurenczu Mundellu (ML 36) and at Notabile (1556): "Ioannes Mondello aromatarius et civis hujus Notabilis civitatis et Insulae Melitae" but in 1549 (before getting married to Donna Becta Zarb) he is "Joannes Mondellus aromatarius de fidelissima civitate Siracusarum". ⁷⁶ Prof. A. Varvaro has kindly pointed out that the locality Mondello was not inhabited in Medieval times.
NASO	At Gozo in 1545: "Don Johannes de Naso" (MCM CEM RA 36 ff. 211–218) and at Mdina (1561): "Perj de Naso" (MCM Misc. 441 f. 118).
NOTO	At Mdina (1561): "Gabriel de Noto" (<i>ibid.</i>) and in 1687: "La Sra. Angelicuzza De Noto" (AAF LSA II N. 46 f. 2 ^v).
PALERMO	At casali Zuricu (1419): Manfre de Palermo (ML 24 ^v); At Valletta (1602): "Orazio di Palermo" (AP Portus Salutis LB I (28.x.1602)).
PULISI	Meaning from Polizzi (<i>vide</i> AS 58), is found in Sicily in a bilingual Graeco/Arabic document of 1178 as: ἔπιν ἔλπούλιση / ابن البولسي (C 170).
SCIACCA	The surname is common in Malta in 1419: for example at Casali Zabar: "Burdinu Pulisi" (ML 16) and at Casali Johannii et Buzubudi: "Chiccu Pulis" (ML 18). In 1372: "Gabelotto Iacobinus de Sacca" (B/Secrezia 130) and in 1402: "Quondam Symon de Sacka olim ejusdem ecclesiae (Melivetanae) decanus" (L/Cappella 159); (<i>For this spelling of Sciacca</i> <i>vide</i> Collura <i>op. cit.</i> 392).
SCICLI	At Rabat (1419): Niculozu de Scicli (ML 36). The very diffused surname Scicluna may well be a variant, in diminutive form, of this.
SIRACUSA	Does not appear in this form before the beginning of the 17th century, e.g. at Senglea (LD I (24.x.1641), (20.i.1649) <i>et passim</i>). However, Cuze at Rabat (1419) and Cuzin (<i>passim</i>) must be truncated forms of this surname, whence the present Cousin.
ZAFFERANA	In 1244: Johannes Zafarana Maltensis Canonicus (Cl 129). As place-name one finds in 1574: "Ta Zafaran, pecia terrae in contrata il cortin" (Not. F. Ciappara R185/1 (18.iv.1574) 39 (Pt. I)).

One geographical surname which is conspicuous by its absence from the earlier records is Siciliano itself which only begins to appear precisely in that form towards the end of the 16th century; thus at Qormi in 1590 (AP LB II Precept. Pasq. (7.iv.1590) 374), at Cospicua in 1687 (AAF LSA XXIVa N.142)

and later. This incongruous absence can perhaps be explained if one suggests that it is in fact present in a disguised garb. A likely candidate is the widely diffused surname Seykel, interpreted as diminutive of Siquid.

That these surnames, many of which are names of coastal towns, should occur is only to be expected in view of the heavy trade traffic that has always existed between Sicilian towns and Malta.⁷⁷

2.3 *Other surnames*

Medieval Malta shares with Sicily several other Romance surnames which originate from sources other than personal names or towns in Sicily. One can identify surnames of ethnic and geographical origin outside of Sicily, surnames associated with trade, with persons of rank and more generally nickname-surnames.

Among geographical surnames one finds: Aragona, Cagliarisi, Calabro, Calimera, Cassano, Catalanus, Darmenia, Genovisi and Ginwi, Greco, Lamanno, Lombardo, Lucchisi, Malf, Mileto, Montemurro, Pisano, Sagona, Sardo, Salerno, Suavi, Tuscanus, Viniciano and Vico.

Other surnames individuate a person, and hence his family, by the trade or profession he pursues. Of these one finds, for example: Fabro, Ferraru and Vaccaru. An interesting subset of this category consists of names of association with a person of distinction in social or religious life. This person may have been an owner in earlier days of serfdom, or a protector or employer in later times. Thus one finds:

DE LO CIANTRO	In Sicily at Palermo (1281): “†Ego Jacobus de Cantore me subscripti” (Cl 258). In Malta in 1274: “Ego Pascalis de Cantore testis sum” (Lz 36); At Casali Xiloc (1419): Mariu de lu Chantru (ML 28) and at Casali Curmi: Fridericus Chantar (ML 15); At Mdina (1467): “Ynigo de Cantore” (Not. P. Bonello Ms. 588 (12.xi.1467) 4) and by the same notary Giacomo Zabbara (1486) Petro Chantar (R494/1 f.49) and Petro di Cantore (<i>ibid.</i> f.55). Thereafter, it is uniquely written Ciantar (Chantar). Ciantru is the Sicilian for Cantore (Traina); it derives from the Arabic rendering جنتر. Thus, in 1187(?) at Catania one finds: “... Venerabilis Percentoris Sacrae Regiae Cappellae et Catanensis Archidiaconi” (C 83), translated: الـجـنـتـرـ الـذـيـ بـالـكـنـسـيـةـ الـقـدـسـةـ (C 84).
DE LO EPISCOPO	In Sicily in 1192: ‘† ἀνδρέας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὑπέγραψα’ (C 635). In Malta in 1372: “Philippus de Episcopo” (B/Secrezia 130); in 1417: “Nardu de lu Episcopu” (MR 10) and in 1540 at Notabile: “Michael de lo Piscopo civis Melitae (Not. N. de Agatiis R202/4 (28.i.1540) 112v).

DE LO RE

Both forms are still common in Italy (DF 232) but only Piscopo is used in Malta to-day.

In Sicily (1411) at Randazzo: Guillelmu Lu Re and at Nicosia: Anthoni Lu Re (Bianca 73,127).

In Malta at Notabile (1541): Ramundus de lo re civis Melite (Not. N. DeAgatiss R202/5 (18.viii.1541) 282); in 1561: Matheo De lo Re (MCM ACM Misc. 441 f. 118^v); at Valletta in 1687: "Giovanni Re" (AAF LSA IIa N. 53 22^v).

This construction of surnames has been more productive in Sicily than in Malta. Other surnames encountered there but not here include: Del Decano (1143–45) (C 57) as well as de Presbytero Theodoro, de magistro Amico, Donne Agathe, Donne Constancie, De Domino Oddone, Magistri Bonsignuri and others, all at Patti in 1318 (Patti 258–262). Del Decano, however, may have been represented in Malta by the toponym Rahal Tigān, as the uncommon spelling "Casali Dican" (ANV Not. Ger. Cumbo R196/1(I) (28.iv.1529) 27^v) seems to suggest. The surname Tigano/Tigani is encountered in early modern times (ANV Not. G. DeGuevara R224/30 (1.x.1569) 184; AP Senglea LM I (15.xi.1595), (12.ix.1597)).

The common Maltese surname Spiteri should perhaps be considered here. The earliest relevant record in Sicily dates from 1245: "†νικόλαος τοῦ σπιταλέρο ... μαρτυρῶ" (C 455), which is encountered later at Patti in 1314: "... terra que fuit Nicolaj Spitalerij" (Patti 337). It is taken to mean 'relating to the (knight) hospitaller'. The relevance for Malta derives from the earliest recordings of the surnames here, which have the dual form Spitali, as in "Jacobu Spitali" at Temim Assant (1419) (ML 16^v) and Spiteri, as in "Johannes Spiteri" in 1365 (L/Benedictines 164) or "Parisi Spiteri" at Casali Grigori in 1419 (ML 5^v). The place-name "tal birulli sive rahal Spital" (nowadays Has Saptan) also needs taking into consideration (W/Villages 211). The surname-form Spital survived well into the 16th century: in 1522 one finds "Brancati Spital" (MCM PD 24). It has been part of the folk-lore surrounding the origin of Maltese surnames that Spiteri originated with illegitimate children of the Knights Hospitallers.

Since the surname ante-dates their arrival in Malta this hypothesis must be rejected, but as seen, it could well still be related to them. The confusion probably arose from the 17th century custom of referring to children from the orphanage as "dell'Ospedale" (F.). Several surnames in Italy have been coined to label those of dubious parentage, including: Dell'Amore, Di Dio, D'Incervo and, particularly in Sicily (DF 182), Trovato, thus: "Brancatus de Trubatu" (1396) (MF 120), but of the 40 or so listed by De Felice (DF 232) the crude Maltese reference "Tumas di stupru Casalis Tarxen" (MCM PD (1536) 43)) is not to be found.

Other surnames, many of nickname type, include as representative sample:

DE LA BARBA

In Sicily in 1145: "†ροβερτος διλαβαρβα μαρτυρ" (C 616).

In Malta (1282): "De fide . . . Dionisij Barbe militis . . .

	procuratorem et magistrum insularum nostrarum Malte et Gaudisij . . . mandamus" (Lz 56); At Gozo (1299): "Coram . . . Raynaldo De Barba . . . judicibus Gaudisij" (B/Vespri 317); In 1316: "Actardus De Barba miles" (<i>vide supra</i>); In 1371: "Literius de la Barba" (L/Benedictines 155); at Temim Assant (1419): "Jakinu de la Barba" (ML 16 ^v <i>et passam</i>) and at Valletta (Portus Salutis) in 1609 the same family is referred to as La Barba and Bulabarba (AP LB I (1.vi.1609), (18.xii.1610)).
BLANCO	In Sicily at Agrigento in 1319: "Perna de Blanco" (Cl 271). In Malta at Casali Johanni et Buzubudi (1419): "Johanni Blancu" (ML 18). In translation, the nickname "l-abjad" is most common.
BONAVIA	Although not encountered in Sicily it fits in very well with the host of other 13th century names and patronymics prefixed by Bono-. Several of these have been recorded at Agrigento alone: Bonjohannes, Bonusfilius, Bonaparte, Bonavita, Bonnovello, Bonaventura, Bonaccursus, Bonachio, Bonadeus, Bonaposa, Bonincontro and others (Cl <i>passim</i>). In Malta at Casali Gumerinu (1419): Iorgi Bonavia (ML 2 <i>et passim</i>).
GAMBINO	In Sicily in 1307: "Roberto Gambino" (MF 113); at Randazzo (1411): "Philippus Gambinu" (Bianca 60) and very common to-day at Palermo (DF). In Malta at Rabat (1419): "Aguistinu Gambinu" (ML 36 ^v).
CICALA	In Sicily at Golisano (1203): "Paulus de Cycala" (MF 26, 27) and at Palermo (1249): "Nos Gualterius c(ica)ll(a), imperialis curie Panormi iudex". At Corleone (1483): "auctoritate . . . Iohannis Chicala" (Corleone 202).
CIPOLLA(TA)	In Malta at Civitas (1419): "Cola Chicala" (ML 39 ^v). As toponym it appears in 1593 as "yl buairat ta Cicala" (W/PN) and probably also to-day as "taċ-Ċikora" (SS 421/718). In Sicily at Randazzo (1411): "Iacupu Chipulla" (Bianca 73). In Malta in 1363: "Presbyter Petrus de Chipullata" (L/Benedictines 160); at Civitas (1419): "Bundu Chipul-latu" (ML 39 ^v) and at Rabat (1480s): "Augustin Chippullat" (AL 23).

In the 16th century there was a tendency to translate the Semitic surname Psajla into Cipolla. Thus, at Qormi the same couple are referred to as “Geronimo Cipulla et Marietta jugales” (AP LB I (10.xii.1576) 18^v) and “Giloramo Psaila et Marietta jugales” (*ibid.* (12.v.1580) 28), other examples are quoted by Wettinger (W/Arabo-Berber 493) and Rqiq/Subtili is noted above.

However, there does not seem to be any connexion with the Medieval Chipullata.

CUMBO

In Sicily at Trapani (1396): “Raymundo de Cumbis” (Ms 86).

Also the place-name (1223): “ό ρίαξ της κούμβας” (C 444) meaning ‘the stream of the small boats’.

In Malta at Casali Gumerinu (1419): “Philippu Cumbu” (ML 2 *et passim*).

Via Latin Cymba and Italian Cimba it is encountered in 17th century Malta: “...cimba vulgo bregantino” (AP Birkirkara LD II (24.ix.1644) 78^{iv}). To-day the term is extinct both in Sicilian and in Maltese.

PLATAMONE

In Sicily at Trapani (1415): “Johanna de lo Platamon” (Bianca 251).

At Gozo in 1540: “Franciscus quondam Antonij Platamone insulae gaulitanae (Not. N. De Agatijs R202/4 (2.viii.1540) 292) and in 1604: “Clementia Platamone” (APCG LB I (25.xi.1604) 17).

PSINGA

In Sicily at Catania in 1411: “Fridericu Pizinga” (Bianca 274); other variants: “Picinga” (*ibid.* (1412) 96) and “Piczinga” (*ibid.* (1413) 33^v).

In Malta at Rabat(?) in 1496: “Lucas Bixinga” (Not. G. Zabbarra R494/1 (21.xii.1496) 40^v).

At Birgu in 1541: “Nicolaus Pissingha melitensis habitator hujus suburbij” (Not. N. De Agatijs R202/5 (6.viii.15412) 266).

Several were to be found in Cottonera in 1687: “Psinga” at Cospicua (AAF LSA XXIVa N.142 24); “Piscingga” at Senglea (*ibid.* IIa N.49 6^v); “Pisinga” at Vittoriosa (*ibid.* N.54 15^v) and at Ghaxaq (1687): “Biscingga” (*ibid.* N.41 6). It is still found in Senglea in 1797: “Felix Psinga” (*ibid.* XXIIIa N.101 16^v).

PULCELLA

In Sicily at Patti (1277): “In presencia Vassalli de Pulcella” (Patti 251).

In Malta in 1283: “Nicolaus Buccellus (insulae Malthae” (Gl. 199); at Casali Zebug (1480s): “Dionisi Pucellu” (AL 6); in 1508: “Frater Joannis la Pucella” (Not. C. Canchur R140/4 (12.viii.1508) 24^v) and at

PULLICINO

Qormi (1590): “Paulina figlia di Naino Puccell” (AP LB...II (Prec. Pasq.) (7.iv.1590) 374).

In Sicily at Patti (1318): “Monimus...Bartholomeum Pullicinum” (Patti 258) and at Catania (1413): “Dirigitur Rogerio Pullichino” (Bianca 203).

In Malta at Casali Sifilani et Gallun (1419): “Deunisi Pulluchin” (ML 21).

SILLATO

In Sicily in 1396: “†Ego...Clericus Nicolaus Dissillato” (MF 120).

In Malta in 1372: “Lucam de Sillato de Meliveto” (B/ Frederick 192) and at Bircalcara (1419): “Pinu Sillatu” (ML 11^v).

VAGNOLO

In Sicily (1282): “†Ego Ottobonus de Bagnolo interfui et testis sum” (Corleone 132).

In Malta at Civitas (1419): Antoni Bagnolu (ML 40) and in Gozo (1533): “Garita Vagnola” (CL 9), and in 1580: “Magister Ambrosius et Isabella Vagnolo jugales” (Not. F. Ciappara R185/5 (23.ix.1580) 64). Bagnolo = Vagnolo = (Ital.) Bagnuolo (Traina) = hot fomentation.

(A)ZZUPARDU

The oft referred to document from Patti (1318) starts: “Quia singuli homines Casalis Azuppardinorum nostre ecclesie...” and goes on to warn and enlist the men of the village (152 of them) who failed to give their services in the fields of the church. No fewer than 8 of them (the highest incidence) are called De Azzuppardinis, Zuppardinis, de Zuppardinis or Zuppardinum.

Whether the ultimate origin of Azzupardi is Sicilian or not is not entered into here. (In fact, Caracausi (Cr/Storia 69) relates the surname to ἀτζουπάδες.) However, one can certainly point out that the suffix -pardo safely places it in a fairly large class of contemporary names/surnames of the same type, so that a knowledge of the origin of these will also illuminate the issue of Azzopardi. Among such names and surnames in Sicily one finds: At Agrigento in 1112: “Ιάκοβος Λαμπάρδος μάρτυρ” (Cl 33), in 1189: “Ego Aupardus de Albertino testis sum” with variants Ampardus and Arupardus, and in 1248: “Ego Alipardus de Gruchone me subscriptpsi” (Cl 86, 146) always at Agrigento; other instances are: “λεώπαρδος ... ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ” in 1145 (C 27) and in 1206: “† γεωργιουσ θύδος πάρδοι μάρτιρασ” (C 378). If one notes that this same village also had each of the surnames Bonfiglio, Bonello, Bonsignuri, Calabro, Mollica and Pullicino in common

with our nomenclature, then the document certainly sheds light on the *Maltese* origin of the surname to the exclusion of other hypothetical Jewish connexions.

A second observation of relevance to Maltese nomenclature needs to be made here. This document provides a clear instance of a village being named after (presumably prominent, at least numerically) inhabitants and not vice-versa. In Malta, this phenomenon is repeated. The surname Attard does not derive from the locality, but the village is called after the surname, which as shown in this case, derives from a personal name. This point has been made before by Wettinger. In the documentation exhibited, the attempt has been made, wherever possible, to quote instances where the surname occurs at the homonymous locality precisely to emphasize the feasibility of this assertion. Thus, Attard at Attard, Curmi at Qormi, Axiaq at Ghaxaq, Kirkop at Kirkop, Lamann at Lamann, Sammut at Sammut, Tabuni at Tabuni and Zabbar at Żabbar. Examples of other pairs were not cited because no Sicilian connexion has been found, like Calleja, Caprat and Dingli.

Conclusion

The nomenclature of a people is a multi-faceted phenomenon of which surnames are but one aspect. The bonds that tie together the peoples of the two islands are better understood in the wider setting of their entire nomenclatures, embracing, besides surnames, other aspects like toponomy and nicknames, only fleetingly alluded to here. Yet, in spite of their restricted scope, surnames still shed sufficient light to show how close these connexions are, as illustrated by the material exhibited.

In no way does the data presented pretend to be exhaustive. Much further research needs to be pursued, say, to verify hypotheses about connexions or otherwise of pairs like Calía and Galea; to produce Sicilian documentation, which must exist, for surnames like Aquilina, Baldacchino, Cucurellu, Dulzamuri, Fauchellu, Fercacheni, Imbrogli, Maniavacca, Menczaparte, Multianni and others not considered for lack of evidence; to unearth documentary evidence of, say, how Xintil must have developed from Gintil, in a parallel way, say, with: جنتل > Chantar > Xantar (Sicilian pronunciation).

By way of conclusion it is fitting to formulate an untackled problem. Many Medieval “Maltese” surnames like Camilleri, Farrugia, Vella, Zarbo and others are encountered in considerable numbers in present-day Sicily. The question presents itself whether it is the case that these are truly indigenous Maltese surnames which, by way of migration in post-medieval times found themselves in the larger island, or conversely, whether continued evidence for them can be found in Sicily from earliest times. This, naturally, entails mapping out in time (and preferably also in space) their history from Sicilian archives.

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Note added in proof

During the discussion following the delivery of this paper, it was objected that the resolution G > X asserted for the derivation of Xintil from Gintil does not occur at all in Maltese. Other instances of this transition in our nomenclature have since come to light: Notary Brandan Caxaro, in the same volume (R175/58) and within the space of only three months, refers to the same person both as “Antonello Fagiani” on 30.i.1559 (f. 585^v) as well as “Antonelli Faxani” on 26.iv.1559 (f. 910); a perusal of the texts shows, without a shadow of doubt, the identity of the two persons. The surname Parmigiano is found both as Parmisciano, as in “Don Marco Parmisciano” (AAF Suppliche (1668–1684) 23) as well as “Parmigianus” (AAF LSA IIa N. 49, Senglea (1687) 58). The surname Gelfo is also rarely rendered Xelfo as in “Matrimonium inter Giacobo Xelfo et Penella Dalos” (AP Portus Salutis, Valletta, LM I (21.i.1630). One should also note the variations in spelling of the place-name Tarxien: Casali Mitarxen (ML f. 20) (showing clearly that the initial Ta is a possessive particle), C. Arsciel (Matteo Perez d’Aleccio’s frescoes, Grandmaster’s Palace, Valletta, c.1576) and Casali de Targel, in a document of 1436 published by Luttrell (A Maltese Casale: 1436, *Melita Historica* 6 (1974) 322–4), which spelling enables Wettinger (private communication) to interpret the meaning as “Village of the serfs”. Admittedly, G and X here are in a different consonantal environment. Furthermore, near-contemporary documents in Sicily exhibit this same phenomenon. The following cases are all quoted from “Lettere . . . della Regina Bianca” (*op. cit.*) and are all dated 1411: “Accaxiuni” (p. 105 *et passim*), “prixumi” (p. 106 *et passim*), “cuxini” (p. 106), “raxuni” (p. 105 *et passim*), “raxunivuli” (p. 37 *et passim*), “raxunari” (p. 31), “raxuniriti” (p. 16) and “raxunatu” (p. 110) for “accagiuni”, “prigiuni”, “cugini” and so on. According to Rohlfs (*Historisches Grammatik der Italienischen Sprache und ihrer Mundarten*, Bern (1949) Vol. I, p. 266), the resolution G > X (in initial position) is encountered in East Lucania, Taranto, Terra d’Otranto and Bari province, exemplified by šinucco (ginocchio) and šinestra (ginestra).

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Abbreviations

AACM	Archivum Archipresbyteri Cathedralis Mdina
AAF	Archivum Archiepiscopi Floriana
ACM	Archivum Cathedralis Mdina
AL	Angara List: MCM ACM Misc. 437 No. 7
ANV	Archivum Notarile Valletta
AO	Acta Originalia
AOM	Archivum Ordinis Melitae
AP	Archivum Paroeciae
APCG	Archivum Paroeciae Cathedralis Gozo
BV	Bibliotheca Valletta
CEM	Curia Episcopalis Melitensis
CL	Crociata List: MCM CEM/AO 12 (1533) 9–18
Doc.	Document
DSSS	Documenti per Servire alla Storia di Sicilia
ER	Electoral Register (1939)
LB	Liber Baptizatorum
LD	Liber Defunctorum
LM	Liber Matrimoniorum
LSA	Liber Status Animarum
MCM	Museum Cathedralis Mdina
Misc.	Miscellanea
ML	Militia List: MCM ACM Misc. 437 No. 3
MR	Militia Roster: MCM ACM Misc. 437 No. 4
PD	Prebendae Decanales
SS	1:2500 Map of Malta (Survey Sheets) (1963–1973)
Univ.	Università

Notes

1. ANV Not. N. De Agatiis R202/1 (10.vi.1537) 70^v (Pt II): “Antonius Gaudixi habitator Insulae gaulitanae in presenti in hoc suburbio commorans”.
 2. MCM PD (1522) 23^v *et passim*; the form Gauxi is also encountered: “Michelj Gauxi” (AP S Georgii (Gozo) LB II (29.iii.1626) 3^v *et passim*).
 3. B/Vespri 317.
 4. SS 478/721 and 329/890 (North-East of Mdina and South-West of Xagħra (Gozo) respectively): Tal-Maltija; *ibid.* 457/772 (SE of Wardija): Ġnien ta’ Gauci; ANV Not. P. Bonello ms. 588 (23.x.1467) 35^y: “Terra ta il gaudixi in contrata beb il gisire”.
 5. Here and throughout, the earliest and latest known references are given; the omission of the latter indicates that the surname has survived to the present.
 6. ANV Not. V.B. DeBonetiis R206/7 (27.iv.1543) 119.
 7. L/Casale 324.
 8. Archivio di Stato, Palermo, Cancelleria 12 (1360) 143.
 9. MCM ACM Misc. 437 N. 4 f. 14^v.

10. ANV Not. G. Zabbara R494/1 (9.iii.1487) 72^v–76^v *passim* (published in W/Jews Document 41).
11. For the derivation of the misnomer Offamilio *vide* (R183), which reference was kindly brought to this author's attention by Prof. G. Caracausi.
12. ANV Not. G. Zabbara R494/2 (11.iii.1496) 19.
13. AP Lija LD II (23.vii.1642) 43: “Joannes Hagius alias Haltir”; *ibid.* (19.x.1639): “Petro Hagius alias Haltin”; *ibid.* (6.i.1652): “Pietro Hagius detto Haltino”.
14. ANV Not. G. Buttigieg R105/3 (10.vii.1536) 274.
15. SS 467/785–476/792.
16. ANV Not. G. Buttigieg R105/5 (5.vii.1538) 445.
17. On the Arabic naming system *vide* Vroonen.
18. ANV Not. L. Agius R7 (28.vii.1525) 41^v.
19. ANV Not. G. Deguevara R224/15 (3.vi.1559) 1137^v.
20. ANV Not. G. Vasallo R464/1 (21.x.1488) 19^v *et passim*: “Georgius il burg”.
21. ANV Not. G. DeGuevara R224/1 (17.xii.1541) 258.
22. ANV Not. N. DeAgatiis R202/1 (2.v.1536) 25 *et passim*.
23. ANV Not. B. Caxaro R175/34 (27.v.1552) 1606.
24. ANV Not. J.S. De Lucia R229/1 (15.viii.1590) 103.
25. Lz 20, 23.
26. B/Secrezia 130.
27. For its development in the 17th century *vide* F.
28. ANV Not. G. Zabbara R494/1 (22.vi.1487) 100.
29. ANV Not. V.B. DeBonetiis R206/4 (24.x.1539) 357.
30. Documents published in L/Benedictines 164.
31. B/Vespri 320.
32. ANV Not. G. Baldacchino R44/11 (12.i.1571) 4 (Pt. III).
33. B/Vespri 320.
34. Az 36.
35. BV Univ. 7 f. 112 and Univ. 206 ff. 11^v, 137–140v.
36. MCM ACM Misc. 32a (20.ii.1397).
37. ANV Not. G. Zabbara R494/1 (10.iv.1485) 10^v.
38. B/Frederick 191.
39. Ms 99.
40. B/Vespri 321.
41. Bianca 60.
42. ANV Not. N. DeAgatiis R202/5 (12.iv.1541) 168^v.
43. ASP Cancelleria 12 (1372/3) 203.
44. B/Secrezia 130.
45. Bianca 43.
46. *ibid.* 296.

47. B/Secrezia 130.
48. ANV Not. V.B. DeBonetiis R202/6 (26.x.1536) 852.
49. ANV Not. N. DeAgatiis R202/2 (26.vi.1538) 259.
50. ANV Not. V.B. DeBonetiis R206/6 (11.xii.1542) 251.
51. Bianca 196.
52. ANV Not. J. Bondin R69 (14.iii.1523).
53. ANV Not. B. Caxaro R175/4 (6.ii.1539) 322^v.
54. ANV Not. G. Vassallo R464/6 (9.xii.1530) 76.
55. ANV Not. G. Zabbarra R494/1 (2.iii.1487) 69.
56. B/Vespri 321.
57. B/Secrezia 130.
58. Bianca 241.
59. Patti 251.
60. ASP Cancelleria 7 (18.vi.1361) 450.
61. Bianca 266.
62. ANV Not. G. Muscat R376/4 (6.iv.1541) 279^v.
63. ANV Not. G. Zabbarra R494/2 (15.ii.1496) 10^v (Pt. I).
64. ANV Not. G. DeGuevara R224/8 (4.iii.1569) 1608.
65. AAF LSA VII N. 29 (Valletta, Portus Salutis, 1715) 39: Daidon; *ibid.* XXII N. 92 (Valletta, San Paolo, 1745) 26^v: Deydon; *ibid.* N. 105 (Valletta, Portus Salutis, 1747) 60^v: Daidun; *ibid.* XXIII N. 84a (Cospicua, 1762) Casa 106: Deidun.
66. ANV Not. N. DeAgatiis R202/1 (20.vii.1536) 71 (Pt. I).
67. ANV Not. G. Vassallo R464/3 (Testamenti et Codicilli) (1483).
68. ANV Not. G. Bondin R69 (12.xi.1517) 34^v.
69. ANV Not. N. DeAgatiis R202/5 (12.x.1540) 72^v.
70. MCM CEM RA 36 (1545) 211–218.
71. BV Univ. 9 (10.iv.1421) 32^v.
72. ANV. Not. A. Bartolo R48/7 (11.vi.1567) 190.
73. ANV R464/1 loose paper at fol. 25, dated 22.vii.1526 and NOT in Not. G. Vassallo's hand.
74. ANV Not. L. Agius R7/1 (28.i.1528) 160.
75. ANV Not. V.B. DeBonetiis R206/1 (13.iv.1535) 232.
76. ANV Not. A. Bartolo R48/5 (28.ix.1556) 17.
77. *Vide* R. Valentini e P. Fedele, “*Per la Storia dell'Italianità di Malta nel Medio Evo*”, Roma (1940) esp. p. 24.